

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Hu Yaobang in Tokyo
- Sino-Yugoslavian Relations in the 50s
- A Tribute to Ma Haide



# LETTERS

## Population Control Policy

I am writing in support of the "Notes From the Editors" article in your August 29 issue (No. 35). The author, political editor An Zhiguo, displayed an excellent grasp of the population situation in China, and correctly criticized those foreigners who like to disparage China's population programme. As the editor noted, "... some foreigners who lack understanding of our population policy have charged that our policy is one of 'terror.'" Though some foreigners may hold this view, others are totally in support of China's population control policy. The recent census figures and demographic analyses by Xiao Zhenyu and Zhao Xuan in the August 1983 issue of *China Reconstructs* made it very clear that China must continue to reduce the birthrate. They wrote that "... since 1980 the number of first marriages of women each year has approximately doubled that of the same year in the 1970s. This presages a new baby boom."

It is not difficult to see that failure to control the population now will lead to massive overcrowding, suffering, and famine in the future. Those foreigners who claim that "humanitarian" reasons preclude abortion and one-child families are greatly mistaken, for nothing could be more inhumane than condemning

future generations to hunger and misery due to overpopulation. For those few foreigners who criticize China's birth control policy, there are many more who support it.

**Jonathan Cook**

Department of Foreign Languages  
and Literature  
Yunnan University  
Kunming, Yunnan, China

## "Document" Supplements Are Useful

The official document 'Regulations for the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment (issue No. 41) should, of course, be published in full. It is useful to foreign investors, as well as an inspiration to those countries that close themselves to international transactions. Other materials, the political documents in particular, would be more useful and well received if they are published in excerpts. While political activists are very interested in these documents, they have too much material and cannot read all of them. Therefore, it is better for them to read excerpts.

In addition, I like to read articles on science and technology, especially articles on the mining industry, in which I have a special interest.

Your articles in the African column (French edition only) are short and clear, helping me to know the situation in Africa. Because I know nothing about Africa, I usually have difficulty

understanding the general reportage on current events in this region.

**Bernard Auguste  
Quissac, France**

## Articles on Economy

I have had a good opinion of China since my childhood. I started reading *People's China* in 1953 and have subscribed to *Beijing Review* since 1973.

I have taken a special interest in China's economic trends and, find long articles on economic development, those giving a brief account of the local economy, and those on industries closely related to the daily life of the people such as chemical fibre, textile, wooden furniture, pottery and porcelain, food and metal products are of great value to me. You have just published a few articles on these industries. They have close connections with the life of the people and occupy an important position in the national economy.

I would like more information on secondary and tertiary industries; the state of the structure, distribution and development of industrial enterprises; the progress of the modernization drive and mechanization; the relationship between production and circulation; the transfer of technology; and the relationship between big modern enterprises and their small and medium-sized counterparts.

As far as I know, these industries mentioned above cover a wide scope in China's economy, but we Japanese know nothing about their current situation. I would therefore be grateful if you could give a detailed account in this respect.

**Nobumitsu Iwase  
Aichi, Japan**

## Reports on China's Youth and Art

In general, I have found your articles interesting. Your topics are well selected.

I would like to read more articles on China's youth and art. I would also like to see a section which deals exclusively with traditional Chinese medicine.

**Oscar Alberto Olmedo  
Buenos Aires, Argentina**

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## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### *Hu Yaobang's Four Days in Tokyo*

During his week-long visit to Japan, General Secretary Hu Yaobang held talks with Prime Minister Nakasone and other leaders of ruling and opposition parties, addressed the Japanese Diet and a youth rally, and paid a courtesy call on Emperor Hirohito. Hu's four days in Tokyo are detailed (p. 5).

### *China Protests US 'Two Chinas' Policy*

The Chinese Government has lodged a strong protest with the US Government against the appearance of a "two Chinas" policy in an appropriations bill passed by the US Senate and House of Representatives (p. 10).

### *For Better Economic Results*

The Chinese Government has recently issued a number of circulars, calling on state-run enterprises to improve their economic results. The causes of their problems have been analysed, and measures designed to help enterprises raise economic efficiency have proved effective in practice (p. 4).

### *Sino-Yugoslavian Relations: Past and Present*

Wu Xiuquan, Chinese Ambassador to Yugoslavia in the mid-1950s, recounts how diplomatic relations were first established between the two countries, and their deterioration in subsequent years. However, because the two countries have many points in common, good relations have re-emerged in recent years (p. 17).

### *Ma Haide's Contributions Praised*

Celebrating Health Ministry Advisor Ma Haide's 50th anniversary working in China, the Chinese leaders praised his contributions to the Chinese people's cause of liberation and socialist construction (p. 9). Ma Haide also writes about his personal experiences in China, and his friend Rewi Alley sums up Ma's medical services to the Chinese people (p. 24).



Hu Yaobang meets with leaders of Japanese youth organizations.

Photo by Xin Hua



### Working for better economic results

The Chinese Government has recently issued a series of circulars, calling on state-run industries to increase income and cut down expenditures. The losing enterprises, which make up one-fifth of the total, have been given a deadline to reduce or even eliminate their losses resulting from poor management; otherwise the state will cut off their subsidies.

This decision is part of the efforts China has made to further improve its economy, after steady development through readjustment and restructuring in the past few years.

Business losses are just one manifestation of low economic efficiency. The problems of poor quality and huge consumption exist everywhere. Even many profit-making enterprises have not managed to increase both profits and output value.

The causes of poor economic results are very complicated, and generally fall into two categories:

(1) External causes. These include overconcentration of economic management, egalitarian distribution, and cumbersome organizational structure of industrial enterprises, which is inefficient and incompatible with the requirements of specialization, including unreasonable price ratios between many products. For instance, the prices of primary mineral and agricultural products are much lower than that of processed products. These are problems to be solved through readjustment and restructuring.

(2) Poor foundations. These include poor management,

backward technology and outdated equipment, incapable leadership and low educational and technical levels of workers and staff. These are problems to be solved through consolidation.

Before 1979, many businesses kept up production by relying on cheap raw materials and agricultural and sideline products, and low wages. Most of their profits were derived from part of the value of the raw materials and agricultural and sideline products. This situation concealed the backward state of the enterprises. In the last few years, as the economy was readjusted and restructured, the state has adjusted unreasonable prices, raised the prices of some raw materials and agricultural and sideline products and considerably increased the wages (including bonuses) of workers and staff. These measures have increased the cost of production. Those enterprises which did not change to meet the circumstances inevitably ran into many problems.

The profits and taxes turned in by industrial enterprises have always been the main source of state revenue. The state is therefore directly concerned with transforming deficit into surplus and increasing economic returns. These are vital to the country's modernization.

China is adopting a programme to help enterprises improve their economic results.

- From 1982 to 1985, all existing state enterprises must readjust and improve their management;

- Replacing those unqualified

leading cadres with carefully selected new leaders, and making all leading cadres responsible for gain or loss under a reward system;

- Training workers and staff, concentrating on an overall improvement of product quality and a consumption reduction;

- Transforming technology and updating equipment. From 1983 through to 1985, China will import 3,000 new technologies;

- Strictly enforcing the 300-plus economic regulations which have been published, including the 90 rules governing economic ties with foreign countries;

- Calling on leaders at all levels to assume responsibility for improving economic results and pressing for better efficiency.

These measures have already proved fruitful. In the first nine months of 1983, nearly 8 per cent fewer enterprises suffered losses than in the same 1982 period, and the actual losses dropped by 23.6 per cent.

Jilin Province, for example, was previously an area producing unsatisfactory economic results. During the first half of this year, profits and taxes turned over to the state went up by 20.4 per cent and 10.1 per cent compared with the same 1982 period.

In the first nine months of this year, the output value of 5,600 state-run machinery enterprises rose 20.9 per cent, and profits 43.5 per cent. The number of losing enterprises fell by half.

It is thus clear that poor economic results and financial losses in some enterprises are not incurable. They can be cured by discovering their causes and applying suitable remedies.

—Economic Editor  
Wang Dacheng

## Hu Yaobang's 4 days in Tokyo

Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, arrived in Tokyo on Nov. 23 for a week-long visit to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Government. His visit — to seek the lasting and steady development of friendly and good-neighbour relations — was warmly welcomed by the Government and people of Japan.

During his four days in Tokyo, Hu Yaobang:

- met and had a friendly talk with Emperor Hirohito;
- held sincere talks with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone on the international situation and bilateral relations;
- met with leaders of the ruling and opposition parties in Japan;
- became the first Chinese leader to address the Japanese Diet (see p. 14), and met with the Speaker of the House of Representatives

and the President of the House of Councillors;

- spoke at a large gathering of Japanese youth; and
- met with business leaders and spoke to the press.

Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, who accompanied Hu Yaobang, held talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe.

While in Tokyo, Hu said he was impressed by the Japanese Government and people's strong hope for long-term friendly relations between the two countries.

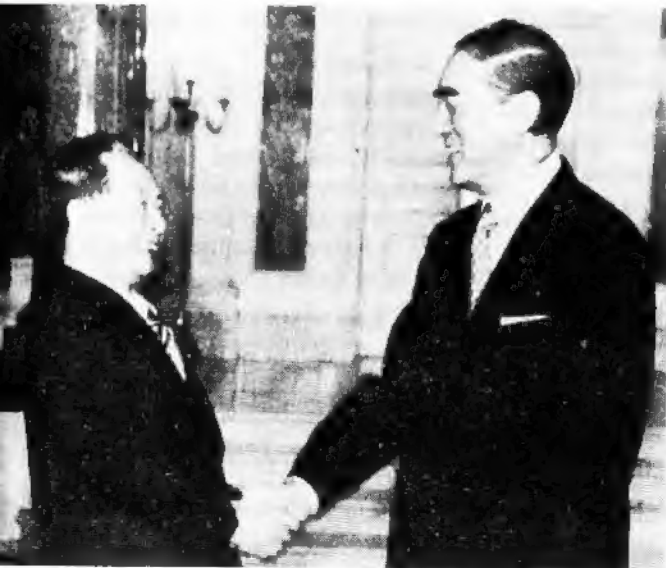
### Bright Future

At a banquet in Hu's honour on Nov. 24, Prime Minister Nakasone reviewed his first meeting with the Chinese Party leader three years ago in Beijing. He said he believed friendship and co-operation between Japan and China have a bright future and "our 21st century will shine with brilliance."

Hu Yaobang toasted the cherished memory of all those who had made outstanding contributions to rebuilding ties of neighbourliness and friendship between the two countries.

Hu pointed out that the good relations between the two great nations of China and Japan not only serve the long-term and fundamental interests of both countries and peoples, but will have a strong, positive influence on the preservation of peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region and the world as a whole.

During their talks, Hu and Nakasone both expressed their wishes for the lasting and steady development of friendly and good-neighbour relations. Nakasone said each time he met with a Chinese delegation he always said that although the present international situation was grave, "Japan and China should advance hand in hand on



Left: General Secretary Hu Yaobang meets with Prime Minister Nakasone for talks.  
Right: Japanese Emperor Hirohito gives a banquet in honour of Hu Yaobang.

the basis of equality and benefit."

"To build a relationship of mutual trust, Nakasone said, the two countries should handle problems in their relations in the spirit of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship and the Japan-China Joint Statement.

Hu said relations between China and Japan have improved every year since restoration of diplomatic relations 11 years ago, and particularly since the signing of the Peace and Friendship Treaty five years ago. He also made two suggestions.

The first is to strengthen mutual trust. He said China will continue its contacts with the Japanese Government and people in all walks of life on the bases of seeking common ground while reserving differences, of speaking frankly and sincerely, of equal consultations and of positive co-operation.

The second is to expand economic co-operation, which should be developed with a long-range viewpoint on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Concrete problems should be settled willingly and gladly by both sides and without a feeling of reluctance, he said.

On Nov. 25, the Chinese and Japanese Governments agreed to add a fourth clause to the Three Principles guiding Sino-Japanese relations. The previous set of principles were announced by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang during his visit to Japan last year. In his meeting with Hu Yaobang on Nov. 24, Nakasone proposed adding "mutual trust" and Hu agreed.

The Four Principles, officially confirmed by the two Foreign Ministers, are peace and friendship, equality and mutual bene-

fit, mutual trust, and long-term stability.

### Youth Rally

On Nov. 26, Hu attended a rally of some 3,000 young people organized by the Steering Committee of Youth for Welcoming Hu Yaobang and six organizations for Japan-China friendship.

Kiichiro Konodera, Chairman of the Steering Committee, said that based on the principles set forth by the old generation, the new Japanese generation will work hard to advance Japan-China friendship through the next century.

Hu told the meeting that the leaders of both countries have pinned high hopes on the younger generation to seek the lasting and steady development of friendly and good-neighbour relations. On behalf of the people, and especially the youth of China, Hu invited 3,000 young Japanese to visit China next autumn. He also introduced Wang Zhaoguo, Chinese Youth League leader, to the rally.

During the talks between Shintaro Abe and Wu Xueqian, the two Foreign Ministers agreed that China and Japan will consult on establishing a committee for China-Japan friendship in the 21st century through diplomatic channels. The committee was proposed by Nakasone.

Abe said Hu Yaobang proposed that the committee include elderly, middle-aged and young members. He said Japan hopes the committee will include scholars and representatives from political and economic circles in both countries.

Wu Xueqian fully approved and stressed the inclusion of young people, because the 21st century belongs to today's younger generation.

### Economic Relations

A meeting of Hu and six major Japanese economic organizations on Nov. 26 stressed that economic relations and trade between China and Japan will enjoy stable, long-term development if the two countries use their respective strengths for exchange and co-operation.

Yoshihiro Inayama, President of the Federation of Economic Organizations of Japan, said it is the task of the business community of the two countries to make full use of all available conditions to further strengthen mutual understanding and friendship, to overcome those obstacles which the differences in economic systems produce and to develop economic exchanges in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit. The Japanese business community will do its best to help China reach its economic goals for the year 2000, he said.

Hu Yaobang said the two nations should take bigger steps forward and make long-term plans to enhance co-operation because country has strong points and each needs the other, and will do so for a long time to come.

Sino-Japanese co-operation presents very wide possibilities, he pointed out. Apart from trade, he mentioned joint ventures, co-operative development and co-production, and Japanese investors establishing businesses in China.

Hu also said Sino-Japanese economic co-operation has begun well on a firm foundation. Any problems which have arisen in the past should be viewed as peripheral. The fact that co-operation has gradually improved showed that the principles of peace, friendship, equality and mutual benefit



Hu Yaobang attends a breakfast hosted by six Japanese economic organizations.

'will pave the way for the smooth development of long-term relations.

Hu said China keeps its promises and, even when it becomes economically stronger, it will never politically seek hegemony, nor will it seek unfair economic advantages at the expense of others. Hu said he sincerely hopes Japanese friends in business circles will work for new and greater progress in enhancing economic co-operation between the two countries.

Hu acknowledged that some Japanese friends appreciate China's current economic policy, but wonder what will come of

it when the present Chinese leaders, such as Deng Xiaoping, himself and Zhao Ziyang, are no longer around. Hu said that China now has prepared for a transfer of power with three echelons of leadership. He assured his Japanese friends that current policy will remain unchanged, not only in this century, but also into the next.

#### Situation in China

In the talks, Hu Yaobang explained China's current domestic situation to Nakasone. Hu said political stability and unity have grown. The current consolidation of the Communist Party and elimination of ideo-

logical contamination are aimed at increasing stability and unity and helping national construction, not at undermining them.

On the possibility that there might be another "cultural revolution," he said that what has been found to be wrong will not be repeated. After the Party consolidation, the political situation in China will definitely become more stable and the country will do even better in its economic development, Hu said.

Hu assured Nakasone that development of socialist culture and ethics and the elimination of ideological contamination in China would not hamper its policy of opening to the rest of the world.

He also said China's economy is doing better than expected. The rate of growth of industrial and agricultural output value is expected to surpass planned targets, reaching about 9 per cent of this year, with continued improvement next year. But, Hu said, many problems still remain to be solved.

At a press conference on Nov. 26, Hu said that political stability in China is growing year by year, mainly because China's present policies are supported by more than 98 per cent of the people throughout the country. A series of organizational measures to ensure the present policies have been implemented. China will select about 1,000 younger people to replenish the leading central, provincial and lower level units next year, he said.

#### On Foreign Policy

In Tokyo, Hu took the opportunity to discuss China's foreign



policy and China's relations with other countries.

**Overall Policy.** At the state banquet in his honour, Hu said China follows an independent foreign policy. It does not attach itself to any country or bloc of countries and opposes the hegemonic behaviour of any country.

Despite differences in social systems, size and strength, he said all countries should and could live peacefully together.

"It is our intention to seek friendly coexistence and contact with other countries round the world on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," he said.

Referring to friendly exchanges with other countries, Hu said China is "sincere in intention, honest towards others, open and above-board, and true to its commitments."

"Practical experience over the last several decades has taught us many things," he said. "We have been taken in by sham friends who sought after gain at the expense of justice. This is why we treasure even more those friends who co-operate with us in real earnest."

**Sino-Soviet Relations.** In his talks with Nakasone, Hu Yaobang said China welcomes consultations on normalizing Sino-Soviet relations, because it would benefit both countries as well as Asian and global peace and stability.

Three rounds of discussions have been held, and the atmosphere at these meetings was not so bad. But no substantial progress has been made, he said.

But China will never waver in its principle that three obstacles constituting a major threat to its security must be removed, he added.

The three obstacles are the

Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan, aid to Viet Nam to occupy Kampuchea and the massive deployment of military forces along the Sino-Soviet border and in Mongolia.

"The consultations should continue in a calm and quiet atmosphere, but as I see it now, it would probably be very difficult to achieve any substantive progress within a short time," Hu said.

Some advances have been made in bilateral economic relations, Hu said. Sino-Soviet trade is estimated at about US\$800 million this year, and is expected to reach between US\$1,500 million and \$1,600 million next year.

Hu assured Nakasone that China upholds normalization of relations based on firm principles. It should and will never impede or impair the growth of Sino-Japanese good-neighbour and friendly relations, Hu said.

**Sino-US Relations.** Hu Yaobang also touched upon Sino-US relations. He told Nakasone that China wants to continue pushing these relations forward, because this serves the basic interests of both countries and contributes to stability in Asia and the rest of the world.

After cooling off for a time, Sino-US relations have warmed up to some extent. But recently, two unpleasant events have occurred, Hu said. He mentioned both US President Ronald Reagan's statement while in Japan that he would not throw over his old friends in Taiwan and the resolution on "Taiwan's future" adopted recently by the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. China has shown its attitude towards these developments very clearly, Hu said.

The reason for the recurrence of such problems is that certain leaders in the United States are

clinging to their "two Chinas" policy, making it very difficult for Sino-US relations to progress smoothly, he added.

"If things went wrong, Sino-US relations could take a grave turn for the worse," Hu said. "This, naturally, is not what we wish to see."

On Nov. 26, at a press conference in Tokyo, Hu said that whether or not the scheduled exchange of visits between Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and US President Reagan will actually take place depends on "how sincere is the US administration's commitment to Sino-American friendship."

China hopes that friendly relations between the two countries will move forward, Hu emphasized. "But let's wait and see what is going to happen."

**Peace and Stability in the Asian-Pacific Region.** Hu said China hopes to see the Southeast Asian countries strengthen their unity and co-operation and work for national rejuvenation. A peaceful, stable and prosperous Southeast Asia serves the basic interests of the peoples there and helps peace and stability in Asia and the whole world.

On the question of Kampuchea, he said, unremitting efforts should be made to compel Viet Nam to pull its troops out of Kampuchea and let the Kampuchean people determine their own future. Following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, China would favour international supervision to ensure that Kampuchea becomes an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned state.

On bilateral issues, the General Secretary said China is ready to approach Japan in the spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences, treating each other with sincerity, holding consultations on



an equal footing, and acting in a co-operative manner. China hopes Japan will do the same.

On the Korean issue, Hu said, China genuinely and unswervingly favours enduring stability on the Korean Peninsula and holds that whatever actions likely to aggravate tension there, no matter where they originate, should be avoided. China approves of an independent and peaceful reunification of Korea in the form of a confederation.

**China's Reunification.** China will strive to recover Taiwan at the earliest date, and resume exercise of sovereignty over Hongkong as scheduled, Hu said. China will brook no obstruction and intervention from any external forces in these two cardinal principles. China will absolutely undertake to protect foreign economic interests in these two places.

## Romanian Premier has successful visit

Premier Zhao Ziyang has called the official goodwill visit by Prime Minister Constantin Dăscălescu of Romania "successful and of great significance to the development of friendly Sino-Romanian relations."

"New progress has also been made in economic co-operation between our two countries," said Zhao as he saw Dăscălescu, who is also a Member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, off to the Democratic Republic of Korea on Nov. 25.

Zhao and Dăscălescu, who ar-



Prime Minister Dăscălescu is welcomed with flowers as Premier Zhao Ziyang looks on.

rived in Beijing on Nov. 21, exchanged views on bilateral relations, on the political and economic situations in each other's country, and on major international affairs. They shared identical views on many issues.

Praising each other's achievements in socialist construction, they agreed to further strengthen co-operation in various fields and to seek ways to develop economic co-operation and trade. In international affairs, they agreed to struggle together against the nuclear arms race and to seek world peace.

Zhao said China has an unwavering policy of furthering the two countries' friendly relations, which have withstood the test of time. Dăscălescu said Romania looked upon China as a friend that could be trusted in all situations.

Dăscălescu also met with General Secretary Hu Yaobang and

with Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Chinese Communist Party. He visited Shanghai and Nanjing. After his visit to Korea, Dăscălescu will return to Beijing for informal talks before leaving for home.

## Dr. Ma's 50 years in China marked

A reception was held in honour of Ma Haide, American-born adviser to the Ministry of Public Health, on his 50th anniversary of working in China.

At the reception in the Great Hall of the People on November 22, Party and state leaders, Deng Xiaoping, Deng Yingchao, Wan Li, Wang Zhen, and more than 200 guests from all walks of life in Beijing attended and congratulated Ma Haide and his wife Su Fei. Deng Yingchao



Deng Xiaoping (third from left), Deng Yingchao (left), Ma Haide (second from left) and Su Fei at the reception.

gave Ma a shell-sculptured perpetual calendar which she had used for more than two decades, wishing him a long life.

In his speech, Public Health Minister Cui Yueli warmly praised Ma's contributions to the Chinese people's cause of lib-

eration and socialist construction (see articles by Rewi Alley and Ma Haide on pp. 24 and 25).

Ma Haide said at the reception, "During the past 50 years, I have seen with my own eyes the poverty and corruption of old China, as well as the increasing prosperity and strength of New China. It is, indeed, a privilege to dedicate myself to such a great people and their lofty ideals."

He continued that the experiences of the past 50 years showed how true it is that one must have firm resolve in order to contribute oneself to the revolution. "In this respect," he said, "I fully agree with Comrade Rewi Alley, a great friend of mine, when he calls for a revival of the Yanan spirit."

## US 'two Chinas' policy protested

On Nov. 25, Assistant Foreign Minister Zhu Qizhen summoned US Ambassador to China Arthur W. Hummel and lodged a strong protest with the US Government against the "two Chinas" plot in an appropriations bill passed by the US Senate and House of Representatives respectively. The note of protest reads:

"The US Senate and House of Representatives passed respectively on Nov. 17 and 18, 1983, an appropriations bill concerning international financial institutions, of which one of the sub-sections reads: 'It is the sense of the Congress that Taiwan, republic of China, should remain a full member of the Asian Development Bank, and that its status within that body should remain unaltered no matter how the issue of the People's Republic of China's application for membership is disposed of.'

"This is another act of deliberate interference in China's internal affairs and open application of a 'two Chinas' policy by the US Congress after the Foreign Relations Committee of the US Senate adopted on Nov. 15, 1983, the so-called resolution entitled 'the future of Taiwan.'

"The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China, and Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. In all inter-governmental international bodies, including the Asian Development Bank, only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China. The People's Republic of China is fully qualified

to be a member of the Asian Development Bank. This is also acknowledged by the US Government.

"However, since last February when the Government of the People's Republic of China formally notified the Asian Development Bank of its decision to apply for membership in the bank, the US side has tried hard to pursue the 'two Chinas' policy in the Asian Development Bank.

"The sense of the Congress as expressed in the latest appropriations bill passed by the US Senate and House of Representatives insists that Taiwan should remain a full member of the Asian Development Bank and openly calls Taiwan 'the republic of China.' This represents a new escalation of the US Congress' attempt to create 'two Chinas.'

"It not only totally contravenes the US Government's commitments undertaken in the Sino-US communiques but also tramples upon the fundamental principles underlying the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. The serious events successively created by the US Congress to undermine Sino-US relations and hurt the feeling of the Chinese people cannot but arouse their strong indignation. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest with the US Government.

"The Chinese Government emphatically calls upon the US Government to take immediate concrete measures to stop all attempts at creating 'two Chinas.' Otherwise, the US Government will not be able to shirk the responsibility for the serious consequences arising therefrom."

*Western Europe***As new US missiles are deployed**

**A**FTER two years, the US-Soviet negotiations to reduce intermediate nuclear forces in Europe have been suspended indefinitely. The chief Soviet negotiator announced the suspension on Nov. 23, adding that no date had been set for their resumption. The first batch of new US missiles have arrived or will soon arrive in Britain, Federal Germany and Italy. Preparations are well under way for their deployment as part of NATO's plan to deploy 572 US missiles in five European countries before 1988. At the same time, Soviet leaders have again declared counter-measures to offset the American move. These developments will undoubtedly escalate the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers, and force the entire world to confront the rising nuclear menace.

**Behind the Breakdown**

Since the talking marathon began in Geneva on Nov. 30, 1981, the two sides have held six rounds of negotiations and 111 plenary sessions, and no less than 10 proposals or plans have been put forth. Their quarrelling continues because neither side really wants to change its basic stand. They both made repeated gestures, in an effort to suggest there might still be hope for an agreement. These gestures were merely a last-ditch attempt to shift responsibility for the failure of the talks on to the opposite side.

As a matter of fact, with their positions remaining as far apart

as ever, both the United States and the Soviet Union have long been prepared for the breakdown.

On a matter so vital to the balance of military strength between East and West in Europe and, in essence, so pivotal to the two superpowers' rivalry for nuclear superiority, it was only natural that neither side would make any major concessions.

During the negotiations, people noted that the Soviet Union tried in every way to thwart the planned deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe in order to maintain the superiority it achieved by deploying SS-20s. The United States, on the other hand, is determined to go ahead with the planned deployment unless the Soviet Union dismantles its SS-20s.

The Soviet Union had intended not only to legalize its medium-range missiles superiority through the Geneva talks, but also to use this superiority to try to split Europe, disintegrate NATO and encourage neutrality in Western Europe, especially in Federal Germany. The deployment of Euromissiles has, therefore, emerged as an important political issue and neither side wants to retreat.

**Tenser Relations**

As talks are blocked and the Euromissiles are installed, a new and tenser relationship between East and West has developed. Some people see this

as the most important incident in Europe since World War II, and say it will lead to a serious crisis in the near future. Others disagree. They believe the Soviet Union wants to divide and demoralize Western Europe, forcing the United States out of the continent. If the situation in Europe abruptly changes for the worse, trans-Atlantic ties will become even stronger, especially after the US missile deployment. Moscow would therefore never allow its relationship with the West to reach a crisis, because this would not be in its own best interests.

Just before the breakdown in the Geneva talks, senior West German and French officials and industrialists, also some American industrialists visited Moscow and discussed economic relations. These visits show that the Soviet Union and Western Europe do not want their economic and trade relations to be blocked by the deployment of Euromissiles.

Although Moscow has declared it will take counter-measures to deal with the new US missiles (36 SS-21 missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads have arrived in the German Democratic Republic recently, and more new Soviet missiles will be deployed both there and in Czechoslovakia), the West does not seem very alarmed about the Soviet response. In fact, observers say, the Soviet Union had already begun to deploy SS-21, SS-22 and SS-23 missiles before its announcement, and it has never stopped installing its SS-20 missiles. The deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe only provides an open excuse for the Soviets to do so.



Moscow had repeatedly said it would withdraw from the talks if the United States insisted on its missile plan. A Soviet official asserted that it would then be "impossible" to continue. However, the Soviet decision to suspend the talks does not mean it will permanently withdraw from them. The door to negotiation remains open. Of course, there must be an interval to mend the quarrel, and Moscow won't let US President Ronald Reagan reap any benefits from his hard-line approach

in the coming US election.

In America's relations with its European allies, troubles also lie ahead. The deployment will provoke an upsurge in the peace movements of Western Europe and worsen the wrangling between political parties. Anti-US sentiment will also grow, as the presence of US missiles will make Western Europe all the more attractive as a target for Soviet missiles.

— "Beijing Review" News Analyst Ren Wenhui

## United Nations

### Soviets urged to quit Afghanistan

THE UN General Assembly has adopted, by an overwhelming vote of 118 in favour, a new resolution on the Afghanistan problem, which reaffirms the principles of the four previous resolutions on the issue and demands an immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country.

Prior to the Nov. 23 vote, the Soviet Union's UN representatives had tried to block the resolution, which was initiated by Pakistan and 43 other countries. They refused to discuss the Afghanistan situation in the General Assembly and labelled the widespread international sympathy and support for the Afghan people's struggle against aggression as "foreign intervention." Calls for a troop withdrawal from Afghanistan were similarly rejected.

But its attempt at obstruction failed, meeting with bitter condemnation by many representatives. The vote in favour of this year's resolution was even greater than last year's, while the vote against it shrunk. The

Soviet Union has become increasingly isolated in the international community.

Ever since the invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979, the international community has strongly denounced the Soviet Union's aggression and firmly supported the Afghan people's struggle against foreign occupation. It has urged Moscow to comply with the UN resolutions on the matter and bring about an immediate and just settlement of the situation. The Kremlin has ignored them. Although bogged down in Afghanistan, it is in no mood to withdraw its troops because it wants that country as a strategic base for its expansion southward.

Even while the current session of the General Assembly proceeds, the Soviet Union is stepping up its policy of expansion to the south, moving additional forces into Afghanistan and building a number of permanent military bases. Soviet warplanes are bombing areas of guerrilla activity in a "scorched

earth" policy to wipe out Afghan resistance forces, which are growing stronger.

Yet Moscow still insists it is sincere about "negotiations" and a "political settlement," while demanding at the same time a stop to "outside intervention" as a precondition for a troop withdrawal. It is trying to bully the international community into acknowledging its occupation of Afghanistan.

The international community is not against a political settlement of the Afghanistan problem. Every UN resolution on the issue has specified that course of action. However, a political settlement must, as the most recent resolution said clearly, be based on the conditions outlined in all the UN resolutions, including the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The peace- and justice-loving countries and peoples must work tirelessly to force the Soviet Union to comply with these UN resolutions and so bring about a just settlement of the Afghan problem at the earliest possible date.

— Duan Ping

## Australia-ASEAN

### Visit eases strain on relations

TALKS between Thai leaders and Australia's Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Foreign Minister Bill Hayden appear to have eased the recent strain on relations between Australia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

According to reports on the Australians' goodwill visit to Thailand from Nov. 20 to 22, the talks were held in a friendly atmosphere and the two sides sought common grounds on

major issues while agreeing to let minor differences remain.

### Recent Differences

In recent months, relations between Australia and the ASEAN members have been strained over their differences on the Kampuchean question. Shortly after taking office, Hawke's Labour Party government declared its intention of resuming aid to Viet Nam and starting a dialogue with that country. The ASEAN members immediately expressed their dissatisfaction with this change in foreign policy.

Then in October, Australia, while voting for ASEAN's annual UN resolution condemning the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, refused to co-sponsor it. It had co-sponsored the four previous resolutions. And Hayden, in a speech to the UN General Assembly, did not condemn Viet Nam.

In response, the ASEAN members postponed their annual high-level talks with Australia, scheduled for Oct. 24. There had been suggestions of further action, but the meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers on Nov. 6 decided to defer the entire issue until after Hawke's visit to Thailand.

Also in October, Singapore's Foreign Minister told Australian and New Zealand journalists that Australia should condemn Viet Nam, refuse aid until Viet Nam withdrew its troops from Kampuchea and give aid only to the refugees encamped along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Australia, taking these remarks to be meant as "precon-

ditions," reacted strongly. The Foreign Ministry in Canberra summoned the ASEAN Ambassadors and Charge d'Affaires to point out that this situation left no room for diplomatic activities during Hawke's upcoming visit to Thailand. Hawke himself expressed his displeasure to the Thai Charge d'Affaires and the Indonesian Ambassador, and Hayden told an emergency meeting of the Australian cabinet that the Singapore Foreign Minister's remarks represented ASEAN pressure on the Government.

The Singapore Government sent a reply expressing regret that Australia had reacted so quickly to information it had not received through the normal diplomatic channels.

### Tension defused

The talks in Thailand have helped to defuse the situation. Speaking at a press conference in Bangkok, Hawke said both Australia and ASEAN share the same basic policy on Kampuchea: Viet Nam should withdraw its troops and Kampuchea must be allowed self-determination.

"We have made no decision in practical terms on development assistance to Viet Nam," Hawke said. "The condition that would trigger that decision is important, not the time frame."

Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda said on Nov. 21 that Australia has stood by the ASEAN members on the Kampuchea question. And Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila told reporters that the two prime ministers agreed that Vietnamese troops should be withdrawn from Kampuchea

and that the Kampuchians should be allowed the right to self-determination.

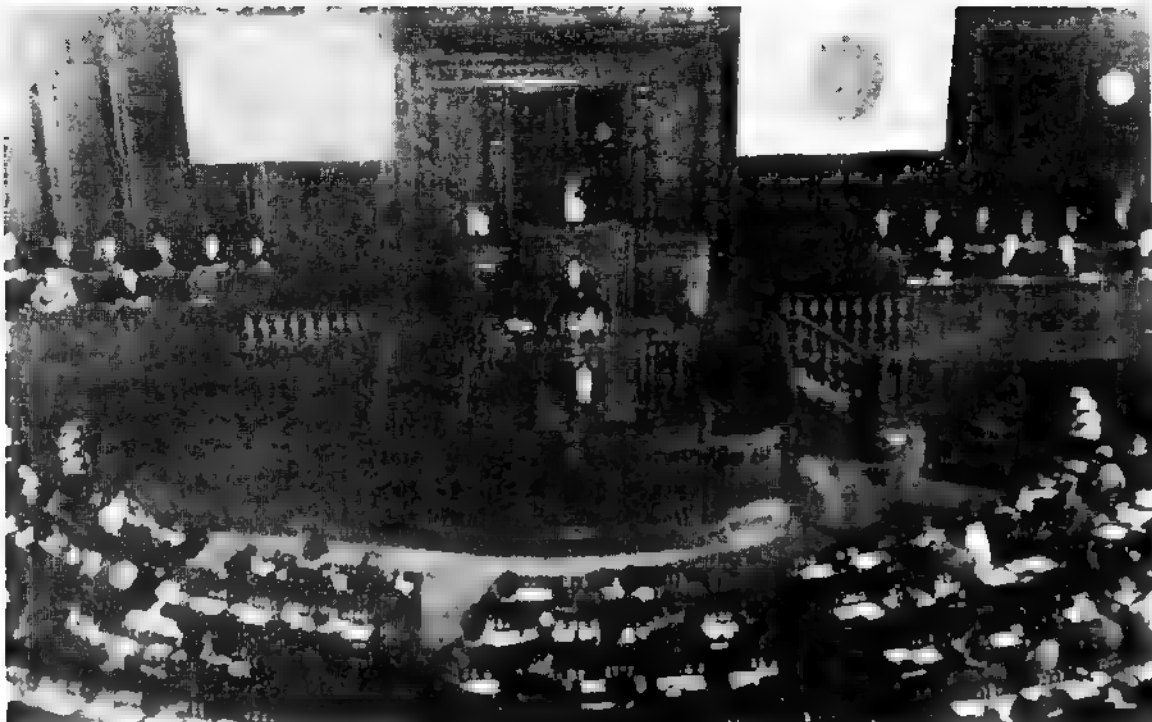
However, he said, there were minor differences on the approach to solving the Kampuchean question. Australia still refuses to recognize the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and is apparently ready to provide Viet Nam with US\$460,000 in relief aid. It also hopes to develop practical relations with Viet Nam.

Both sides hope their differences will not deepen. Australia has long had friendly relations with the ASEAN members, sharing a geographic proximity and common interests regarding peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region. Trade between Australia and ASEAN is estimated at US\$3.200 million for this year. The Kampuchean issue is the major area of difference between the two sides.

Through Hawke's visit to Thailand, the dispute over the Kampuchean problem has eased to a degree. Australia considers the problem not only the biggest cause of tension in Southeast Asia, but also the biggest obstacle to the normalization of relations between Viet Nam and the ASEAN members. It has condemned Viet Nam for its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea.

The agreement by both sides on the prime cause of tension in Southeast Asia will be conducive to a just settlement of the Kampuchean question and to joint efforts to safeguard peace and security in the region.

— Wei Yuqin



Hu addresses the Japanese Diet.

## Hu Yaobang on China's Basic Policy And Sino-Japanese Relations

*Hu Yaobang, General-Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered a speech at the Japanese House of Representatives on November 25 upon invitation of the Japanese side. In it, he expounded China's basic policies and looked forward to the future of the Sino-Japanese friendly relations. The following is a round-up of his speech. — Ed.*

**C**HINESE Communist Party leader Hu Yaobang told the Japanese Diet on November 25 that China's basic national policy at present is to pursue socialist modernization and develop the material and cultural wealth of the nation.

In his speech at the assembly hall of the Japanese House of Representatives, the General-Secretary of the Chinese Com-

munist Party Central Committee said, "To attain this objective, China seeks to develop ties of friendship with all countries and maintain world peace on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence."

Despite the enormous successes already achieved in socialist construction, he said, China was still fairly backward economically and culturally. "We still

have to carry out another 10 or even a dozen five-year plans before we will be able to approach or catch up with the world's most developed countries," he added.

### Foreign Policy: Salient Features

Outlining China's foreign policy, Hu Yaobang mentioned the following salient points:

- China will resolutely safeguard its territorial integrity and state sovereignty and work for national reunification by bringing back Taiwan and resuming exercise of sovereignty over Xianggang (Hongkong) as



scheduled. China opposes all forms of foreign interference and will never claim even an inch of foreign land.

- China wants to develop relations and expand economic, technical and cultural exchange and co-operation with other countries. It will always be sincere and honest, open and aboveboard, and will act in good faith in its relations with other countries.

- China is ready to develop friendly contacts with other peoples, as well as those foreign political parties and organizations who wish to reciprocate.

- China always stands by the other third world countries and strongly advises the developed countries to render greater assistance to these developing nations, because this is in the interests of the developed countries themselves as well as world peace.

- China resolutely opposes hegemonism. The Chinese people will never seek hegemony, nor will they ever yield to pressure from any hegemonist power. So long as the people of China, Japan and all other peace-loving countries unite, it is possible to prevent the hegemonists from throwing their weight around, stem the outbreak of a new world war and safeguard world peace.

In his speech, Hu Yaobang expressed his satisfaction over the major progress achieved in Sino-Japanese relations over the past 11 years since the two countries resumed diplomatic relations. During these years, he said, the two countries concluded the Treaty of Peace and Friendship as well as a dozen practical agreements on trade, transport, culture, science and technology, leasing and customs duties. Their heads of state have visited each other re-

peatedly, there have been frequent contacts between people in various fields in both countries, and three meetings have been held between members of the two governments. The volume of Sino-Japanese trade is now 10 times what it was the year the two countries resumed diplomatic relations, and this has been accompanied by steadily growing cultural exchanges and co-operation between them. Japan has also provided preferential credits to China. Sixty pairs of provinces and cities have tied the knots as sister provinces or cities. On the basis of the growing exchanges between the people of both countries, the first Sino-Japanese conference of non-government officials has been held.

With the exception of a few items, Hu said, China has more exchanges and co-operation with Japan than any other foreign country, and their depth and breadth have chalked up new records in the annals of the Sino-Japanese relations.

Hu Yaobang paid sincere tribute to all Japanese friends who made the pioneering efforts in and outstanding contributions to resuming the good neighbourly relations between China and Japan.

Only five years have passed since the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Hu noted, and it is only natural that doubts, contradictions and lack of coordination sometimes arise in the working partnership between the two nations. This just requires us to treasure the friendly relations dearly and work with one mind, on the basis of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, to further strengthen the mutual trust between the governments and

leaders of our two nations, increase the exchanges and co-operation in economic and cultural fields and further strengthen the friendly exchanges between those outside the government, especially the young, he said.

With the close proximity of China and Japan, each having its own strengths, there is great potential in the future development of Sino-Japanese co-operation, he said.

## Economic Co-operation

Looking forward to the future Sino-Japanese relations, the Chinese leader stressed the need to treat economic co-operation from an overall and long-range point of view. Quoting from Lu Zhi, a great Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD) statesman, Hu Yaobang counselled against going after small gains close at hand to the neglect of substantial long-range benefits.

"The important thing is for both partners in co-operation to stand on a high plane and see far ahead," he said. "They will thus be able to establish step by step an enduring and stable system of co-operation."

Talking about China's policy of opening to the rest of the world, he said it will remain unchanged for a long time to come.

"If there should be any change at all," he added, "it will only be in the direction of greater maturity and perfection, to the greater benefit of reciprocal external economic co-operation in various ways, and not otherwise."

Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and several hundred people, including leaders of both houses and leaders of various political parties and cabinet ministers, were present to hear Hu's speech.

# Hu's Visit to Japan a Success

— Special to "Beijing Review"

GENERAL Secretary Hu Yaobang more than achieved the objective of his visit to Japan Nov. 23-30 — to seek a long and steady growth of the Sino-Japanese relationship of good neighbourliness and amity.

His visit led to a common pledge by both countries to work together for an enduring harmony which will last through the next century and beyond.

His appeals for closer ties of friendship, unity and economic co-operation through future generations drew enthusiastic response from the Japanese Government and public, and the younger generation especially.

To ensure that the present excellent relations between the two peoples will be handed down, Hu called on the youth of both countries to devote themselves to the cause of Sino-Japanese friendship. He announced at a meeting in Tokyo that China plans to invite 3,000 young Japanese to China next autumn as a first step in this direction.

Epitomizing the Japanese people's enthusiasm were two proposals advanced by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in his talks with Hu on Nov. 24. One was to add the phrase "mutual trust" to the principles "peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit and long-term stability" formulated by China for guiding Sino-Japanese relations, and the other was to establish a committee for Japan-China friendship in the 21st century.

At a youth rally in Tokyo, Kiichiro Kono, Chairman of the Steering Committee of Youth for Wel-

coming Hu Yaobang, pledged the young people of Japan will follow the example set by their elders and work untiringly for Japan-China friendship and Asian and world peace through the next century.

Major investments institutions in Japan are considering extending China a second batch of loans in Japanese yen to help China's modernization programme.

Japan Silver Volunteers (JSV), an organization formed by retirees, decided to send members with professional knowledge and experience to China.

This kind of enthusiasm was also evident in the numerous reports, articles, features and editorials the Tokyo media carried on the Chinese leader's visit. It was viewed in Japan as extremely important, not only because it has vital bearing on bilateral relations but also because it was Hu's first trip to a capitalist country. People were naturally curious about the effects of his first direct exposure to capitalist society, and the way he availed himself of the opportunity to explain China's stance on major international issues.

Hu reassured his hosts that the current Communist Party consolidation and elimination of ideological contamination in China will not upset political stability and unity, affect the policy of opening to the rest of the world and plunge China's economy into chaos again, but will instead benefit them all. He promised China's continued interest in expanding trade, economic relations, technological co-operation and cultural exchanges with Japan on the

basis of equality and reciprocity.

Future leaders being groomed under China's three-echelon cadre system will ensure the continuity of the country's present policies, including that of maintaining amicable relations with Japan, Hu told the Japanese.

The Chinese Communist Party leader also made it clear to the world that the new, closer Sino-Japanese relationship will not infringe on the interests of other countries but will, instead, contribute to peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region and the rest of the globe.

One of the highlights of the visit was the round of wide-ranging talks between Hu and Nakasone, in which the two leaders found they agreed on many important international issues.

Hu reiterated China's independent foreign policy of safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism. Nakasone expressed his appreciation for China's position on international affairs and promised Japan's co-operation with China in working for Asian and global peace and security. Nakasone said Japan will not seek to be a military power.

The two leaders showed concern over the growing tension around the world, especially in Europe, as a result of the suspension of Soviet-US talks on the reduction of intermediate nuclear forces. Both leaders strongly demanded that the two superpowers show sincerity and initiative in drastically curtailing their nuclear arsenals, including the SS-20's deployed by

the Soviet Union in the Far East.

Nakasone indicated Japan's anxiety about the Korean situation. Hu told him that China hopes to see prolonged stability on the Korean Peninsula and a peaceful reunification of north and south Korea in the form of a confederation.

On other international issues, the Chinese leader warned that no substantive progress is likely to come in the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations unless the Soviet Union agrees to remove the three major obstacles in the way of normal relations.

He again stressed China's displeasure at the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee resolution on "Taiwan's future," seeing it as a flagrant act of interference in China's internal affairs. The scheduled exchange of visits between Premier Zhao Ziyang and President Ronald Reagan will depend on how sincere is the US administration's commitment to Sino-American friendship, the General Secretary stated.

Hu paid tribute to the Japanese people for their achievements in making their country an economically and culturally developed nation through hard work, and for their strong desire to live in peace and amity with the Chinese people for ever.

His candid, sincere and straight forward manner in explaining his views on internal and international issues won him great popularity among the Japanese. The Japanese press agreed that Hu's visit will go down in history as a milestone in Sino-Japanese relations, as well as a major diplomatic move aimed at promoting peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region and throughout the world.

— Zhou Lifang

# Relations Between China And Yugoslavia

—Memoirs of a veteran diplomat

*The following is an excerpt of the last part of the article "Eight Years in the Foreign Ministry" written by Comrade Wu Xiuquan. An excerpt of the first part appeared in issue No. 47, 1983. — Ed.*

ON March 1, 1955, the Chinese Government announced that Chairman Mao had appointed me to be the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia. At the same time, the State Council relieved me of my post as Vice-Foreign Minister. On March 10, Yugoslavia also published the decision that V. Popovic was to be the first Ambassador to China.

After my appointment was made, I was fully engaged in the organization of personnel and the establishment of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia.

At that time, one after another the Soviet Union and the East European countries had resumed diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. There had been, indeed, rapid development in the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Khrushchov, in power for some time, wrote to Tito admitting that the Soviet attitude in the past had been wrong. In his reply, Tito said that they appreciated deeds more than words. Consequently, Khrushchov decided to pay a visit to Yugoslavia with the object of closing the rift between the two countries. His arrival had been scheduled for

May 26, and all the ambassadors of the socialist countries in Yugoslavia were expected to greet him at the airport. I entered upon office on May 24, 1955, and presented my credentials to President Tito the next morning, the day before Khrushchov's arrival.

A few days after my arrival, President Tito saw me again and we had a friendly and cordial conversation. On behalf of Chairman Mao, I presented gifts to him. Tito was very pleased with my appointment as Ambassador, particularly because I had also been elected Member of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. That, he believed, was an indication of the Party's high opinion of me and, in turn, the importance China attached to the relations between the two countries. So, my work in Yugoslavia went on comparatively smoothly and extreme harmony characterized Sino-Yugoslavian relations.

Before our departure for Yugoslavia, we had a very scanty knowledge of the country — there was not much ready information at home for our reference. Therefore, we had to rely mainly on whatever we could find out at first hand, after our arrival in Yugoslavia, about the conditions of its Party and state. This, however, turned out to be advantageous, for it meant that we had no preconceived ideas. Of course, the resolutions of the Cominform on the Communist Party of



Yugoslavia (renamed as the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] after 1952) had certain influence on us, but they also aroused our interest and we wanted to find out what the real facts were.

The comrades of the LCY seemed to understand very well how we felt. V. Vlahovic, Head of the Liaison Department of the LCY and secretary of the Young Communist International, gave us an introduction to the situation of the LCY, dwelling especially on the details of its conflicts with the Cominform. He was in tears when he recounted how the Soviet Union launched a severe political attack on his country and organized, at the same time, a military as well as economic blockade. The country and its people, consequently, suffered tremendous adversity. Hard pressed by the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia had to accept aid from the United States and other capitalist countries.

He continued to say that the unfair resolutions of the Cominform, contrary to its intentions, had brought about the solidarity of the Yugoslavian Party and people, who were determined to withstand pressure and tide over the period of distress. After listening to his accounts, we also felt that Stalin had gone too far and we expressed our sympathy and respect for the LCY and the Yugoslavian people.

What he said was absolutely true, according to our findings later. Yugoslavia is a socialist country, and the Cominform's resolutions against the Yugoslavian Communist Party did not show much respect for facts. After we had done our investigation, we sent home our reports, which were received with praise for their detailed and lively observations. All in all, the information was con-

sidered to be of great value to a good understanding of the LCY.

### The "Yugoslavian Road"

After 1948, the "Yugoslavian Road" was often talked about and regarded as treason and heresy.

What sort of "dangerous" road had Yugoslavia taken? From our observation and understanding of things in all aspects over a long period, from our visits in recent years and taking into account their present and past circumstances, we believe their ways of doing things have been rather different. However, contrary to what has been said, they are not all that terrible or detestable.

Indeed, much of what they have done will serve as a good reference for us. For instance, Yugoslavia has not made the mistake of pursuing personality cult which has brought about severe consequences in the Soviet Union, China and the international communist movement as a whole.

Tito enjoyed prestige at home, but the Yugoslavian way of getting things done was rather different from our practice in China. He was called "Comrade Tito" or "President Tito." However, his opinions or speeches were regarded only as suggestions and not instructions. Whenever a meeting was held, he never sat on the presidium if he was not going to give a report. Instead, he would sit among the ordinary people and listen to the reports delivered. There were only a few people on the platform who presided over the meeting.

He did not stay in the capital often, but spent most of his time visiting different parts of the country in order to discover and then solve various kinds of ex-

isting problems. He also went abroad regularly, to extend the role played by his country on the international scene and promote relations among nations on a friendly and mutual-benefit basis. At the same time, these visits abroad, he hoped, would enable him to learn about the strong points of other countries, which he might use later as reference in national affairs.

His style of work was relatively flexible. Basically, he was concerned with the drawing up of policies. After the policies were approved in principle, he would leave all the details of their implementation to the executive institutions. That was certainly different from some other countries where authority was overcentralized. Tito paid great attention to the promotion of democracy and collective leadership. Happy and relaxed, he was relatively healthy.

Tito's mind was lively, and it seemed that some of his views were identical with ours. For example, on the question of the motive force of history, he had noted that "all along that force has come from the people and not from the great men. The people give inspiration to the leaders, who are, in truth, only organizers that understand the aspirations of the masses." He held that "only when the great men understand the needs and wishes of the people and identify themselves with the masses, can they make history and play a significant role. If a man isolated himself from the people and maintained a superior stand, he would arouse fear and hate." These views of his were, of course, in line with Marxist thinking.

His philosophy underlay the system and policy of the Party and the state. He believed that the Party should only play the

role of providing leadership but not rule. The Party determined policies and should be involved only in political and ideological work; it should never interfere in administrative affairs. In this way, from the central government down to the grassroots and the enterprises, the duties of Party and government have been clearly defined and kept separate.

The main task of the Party organizations was the direction and discipline of the members in ideological matters as well as the publicity of the Party's policies. There were no Party committees set up in the factories; instead, they were affiliated to the branches of the local Party committee, and the members of the branch committees were not released from regular work nor permanent. They were in charge of the work of political education and ideology, and were not supposed to meddle in the management of production.

People were allowed to discuss or even criticize the government's policies and principles and express their different opinions. So their political life was comparatively active. At meetings, they seldom talked about their achievements; on the contrary, they stressed the problems they had to face. All the facts were given and everybody was urged to get involved in finding the right solutions.

During any difficult period, the government would make every effort to stabilize the economy and avoid the lowering of the standard of living, it therefore enjoys the support of the people.

They also made sure that those who had committed errors would not suffer merciless punishments. They would be dismissed from their posts, of course, but then they could take

up writing or engage in research work and generally they would be well treated.

This political and social system had been working well, and had proved to be beneficial to internal stabilization and solidarity.

Their Party and government departments were efficient. There were altogether only about 200 or so personnel working in the Party's central offices, all in one building. The administrative units include Collective Presidency, Parliament and Federal Executive Council, which collectively constituted the government, all housed in the same building.

Efficiency characterized all levels of administration. In the county committee, for example, there were only seven persons, including the secretary and typist, but they managed extremely well. Responsible members handled routine duties personally, and they did not seem to have trouble in getting things done promptly.

In the organization of political and economic life, the most important and striking feature was the system of workers' self-management which later developed into social self-management. This system had been designed to demonstrate that "workers are the masters of the state," and now, much refined, it has been adopted in every sphere of life throughout the country. At the time, however, it had not yet developed to its present extent and its function was limited to the workers' administering of the production plans of their enterprise.

Yugoslavia usually called itself "self-management, non-aligned and socialist Yugoslavia." The most prominent point of their foreign policy was their insistence on national independence, rejection of hege-

mony and the refusal to yield to any pressure from outside.

After 1948, thinking that they had a good opportunity to lure Yugoslavia into the capitalist world, the United States and other Western nations offered to provide grain loans and material aid. Yugoslavia accepted them. In the face of difficulties when national survival was at stake, they had no choice but to depend on the West.

However, politically, they refused to be controlled by any big power and they maintained the stand that their country would "neither be a vassal state of the West, nor be a satellite of the East." They carried out the foreign policy of "doing business, but not aligning, with any country." Eventually, Yugoslavia became one of the sponsoring nations of the non-aligned movement.

In 1956, after Khrushchov criticized Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), came the Polish and Hungarian incidents. The Soviet, together with the Polish and Hungarian Parties, adopted various measures of suppression.

Tito, Kardelj and other leaders of the LCY delivered speeches separately. They openly criticized the views and practices of the CPSU. Their frank criticisms led to controversies between the LCY and the CPSU as well as some other fraternal Parties.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) published the document "More on the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship." It expressed our understanding of the LCY's attitude, and also "offered fraternal advice to the Yugoslavian comrades" regarding their total negation of Stalin and on their view that

Stalin's mistakes were the products of the socialist system.

However, quite a few of Tito's arguments at that time later proved to be correct. For example, he said that relations between nations and between Parties should be separated as should relations between discussions of ideology and co-operation among nations. He was against the extension of ideological differences to the area of relations between nations. Above all, he opposed the CPSU's policy of interference in the internal affairs of other Parties and nations. These principles of Tito's had been carried out in Yugoslavia.

### **The Tortuous Road of Sino-Yugoslavian Relations**

The internal and external policies of Yugoslavia had caught our attention and won our admiration. Comrade Mao Zedong said later that Tito was a man with an iron will, unafraid of any pressure. In January 1957, Comrade Peng Zhen led a delegation of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and of the Beijing People's Council in their visit to Yugoslavia. Premier Zhou Enlai, who was then visiting the Soviet Union, telephoned Comrade Peng Zhen from Moscow, through our embassy, asking him to take the opportunity to meet Tito personally and put to him the CPC's proposal of convening a conference (co-sponsored by the Chinese Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia), to be attended by the representatives of Communist Parties from different countries all over the world.

The object was to discuss and co-ordinate the activities of these Parties. As the reputation of the Soviet Communist Party was not very good, it seemed proper then the con-

ference should be co-sponsored by the Chinese Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. I was assigned by Premier Zhou to be the interpreter during the talks between Peng Zhen and Tito.

Tito expressed his opinion that because of its importance, the problem of convening the conference should be discussed at the LCY Central Committee. He preferred to hold bilateral and multilateral talks instead of convening such a conference. That was also the conclusion of the LCY Central Committee after discussing the whole matter. So, that was how things stood and we ended the talks "in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and frankly expressed our views." Comrade Peng Zhen reported the details to Premier Zhou after his meeting with Tito.

After further investigation, we believed that the LCY formulated its independent policies, based on national characteristics and needs, in the search for its own socialist path. It did not apply mechanically the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, nor did it copy any foreign model. Persistently, they maintained their political and economic independence. That spirit was truly admirable. So, too, were their achievements.

Although their views on some matters were different from those held by our Party and those of other countries, they were, however, essentially governed by Marxist-Leninist principles. They instituted the socialist system. Comrade Zhou Enlai and other leaders had also said that the people of China and Yugoslavia had a common goal and that was to safeguard world peace and build socialism with Marxism-Leninism as a guide. On this basis, the two

countries should have been able to develop friendly co-operation and promote the socialist cause.

However, with the changes in international situation and all kinds of internal and external factors, relations between our two countries failed to develop as had been desired. On the contrary, things took a sharp turn for the worse.

In 1957, in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, the CPSU convened a meeting which was attended by the Communist and Workers' Parties of various nations, and made two declarations. For the sake of safeguarding the solidarity of the international communist movement and of other socialist countries, the Chinese Party Delegation, led by Comrade Mao Zedong, attended the meeting, supported and signed the two declarations.

But the League of Communists of Yugoslavia agreed with reservations to the "Common Declaration" signed by 64 Parties from various countries. It refused to sign the "Moscow Declaration." Yugoslavia did not accept the view that the world should be divided into two camps and that the socialist camp should be headed by the Soviet Union. It objected to the criticism of the LCY although its name was not mentioned. Yugoslavia had thus offended the leading group of the CPSU which styled itself a "patriarchal Party."

From the end of 1957, the Soviet Communist Party had initiated and organized a fresh attack against the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the Soviet and East European press published an endless of articles criticizing the internal and external policies of Yugoslavia.

Early in 1958, the LCY, in preparation for its Seventh

Congress, published the draft for the Party's programme. After its publication, the Central Committee of our Party telegraphed the embassy asking us to send back, as soon as possible, the content of the draft and our views. We got the whole staff organized at once to translate the draft, over 100,000 words, into Chinese.

After we had studied the document, I wrote and signed our report "Preliminary Views on the Programme Draft of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia." Then we sent it home, together with the translation of the full text of their programme draft. Before this, they had invited our Party to send representatives to attend their Seventh Congress. Accordingly, we had made some suggestions to the Central Committee of our Party and drafted a congratulatory speech for the occasion, to be considered by the Party.

In the course of drafting the report and the congratulatory speech, we checked the "Moscow Declaration" against the Programme Draft of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and our understanding of what was going on in the country. Of the nine points in the "Moscow Declaration" related to the nature and operation of a socialist state, we believed that at least six tallied well with the Yugoslavian document and practice: namely, the leadership of the political party of the working class and proletarian dictatorship, worker-peasant alliance, public ownership of the means of production, planned economy, national equality, and defence of the socialist motherland.

Only two or three clauses in their document did not fully agree with the "Moscow Declaration." The most significant

difference, as revealed in one of the clauses, was about the ways of ensuring proletarian internationalist unity. The programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia emphasized equality among socialist countries and fraternal parties, and opposed the Party of any country which tried to practise monopoly and hegemony. As we see it now, this is a correct view too. But at the time, so openly stated in the Party programme, it offended the CPSU leaders who were already obsessed with the idea of hegemony.

Our comrades in the embassy, however, had not seen clearly the trend towards hegemony adopted by the leading group of the CPSU, so, out of a desire for unity, they also thought what the LCY had stated in the programme was not proper. In the practice of agricultural collectivization, the LCY also insisted on doing things in their own, different way. This should have been permissible, but the idea which prevailed at the time was that any deviation from our way and that of the Soviet Union would be regarded as "revisionism." Nevertheless, we had given the programme draft a practical and realistic appraisal.

I noted in the report that several parts of the programme draft had reflected their correct views. In matters concerning socialist revolution for example, it held that there would be progress in revolutionary, parliamentary and other forms of struggle, and that the internal contradictions in a socialist society should be properly handled. We felt that basically these views were identical with ours. So I pointed out in the report: "Although on some questions we differ from the Yugoslavian comrades, the Yugoslavian people yearned for socialist construction and they

pursued their goals with enthusiasm. This is the most essential and undeniable historical fact."

The congratulatory speech which I drafted also affirmed and praised the great achievements of the Yugoslavian people in socialist construction under the leadership of the LCY. I wrote: "Yugoslavian comrades, it is only natural for you to work out, in accordance with the specific conditions in your country, your own new formula in building socialism. The various forms and ways of socialist construction adopted by different socialist countries will make collective contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory."

However, I had oversimplified the whole Yugoslavian question and was too optimistic in my estimation of the situation. First of all, the CPSU suggested that the Parties of various socialist countries should not send representatives to attend the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; instead, they should send only observers and that no congratulatory speech should be delivered. The CPC agreed, so my congratulatory speech was left unused.

The Seventh Congress opened in Ljubljana on April 22, 1958 and lasted till April 26. I attended the Congress as an observer, along with the ambassadors of the Soviet Union and other East European countries. The criticism of the programme of the LCY and the boycott of the Congress had aroused the Yugoslavian people's repugnance to the Soviet Union. In giving their reports or speeches, delegates to the Congress denounced with anger the Soviet intervention in other Party's affairs.

The Soviet ambassador and we had once walked out in



protest. The Polish ambassador was the only exception. The Polish "observers" obviously sympathized with the LCY and declined to follow the Soviet Union. The speeches at the meetings and the feeling of the delegates reflected a strong resentment against the CPSU.

I felt extremely uneasy. The friendly relations which had been re-established not long before between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, once again, came to nought.

### Regression in Sino-Yugoslavian Relations

In September 1958, I returned to China to attend the Party's Eighth National Congress and was elected Member of the Party's Central Committee. The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was a significant event and its glorious achievements are still fresh in our memory.

The Congress explicitly pointed out that the main internal contradiction was no longer that between the working class and the bourgeoisie; rather, it was the contradiction between the people's needs (as a result of rapid economic and cultural development) and the existing conditions which could not satisfy their needs. The tempestuous class struggle had been over. The task of the Party was now no longer leading the class struggle but the building of socialism. In view of the lessons learnt from the experience of the Soviet Union, the Congress suggested the rejection of personality cult and implementation of democratic principles and of the mass line.

On foreign policy, it pointed out that consolidation and strengthening of unity and co-

operation with the other socialist countries would provide the most favourable international conditions for China's socialist construction. It also affirmed China's friendly relations with Yugoslavia. These were undoubtedly correct. Later events proved that progress and victory had been the result of following the policies and line adopted by the Congress; whereas setbacks and mistakes had usually been caused by our violation and abandonment of the correct policy of the Congress.

A delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by J. Veselinov (then secretary of the Party of Serbia, the largest republic in the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia), was sent to attend the Congress. On behalf of the LCY, he delivered a speech warmly greeting and praising the Chinese Communist Party.

He said that the Yugoslavian Party, people and Tito himself had all along admired the Chinese Communist Party very much for their achievements in past struggles and their experiences in current construction. They held that the two Parties and countries had trodden similar paths. Both Parties had followed the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and proceeded in accordance with the specific conditions of their countries. This was a development of and new contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. They hoped that the friendship between our two countries and Parties would flourish.

Of course, these views and wishes that he expressed were identical with ours. However, we did not act the way we had wished. Not long after, changes in the Sino-Yugoslavian relations began to emerge. I was also affected by the movement at the time

which stressed class struggle at home and, naturally, struggle against modern revisionism worldwide.

In May 1958, I was recalled home and read again the telegrams I had sent back from Yugoslavia. I felt they were out of tune with contemporary thinking at home. My report affirmed that Yugoslavia was a socialist country and that the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was, in essence, in line with Marxism-Leninism.

But the views at home were different; the programme was seen as something "against Marxism-Leninism and out-and-out revisionism." In short, it was held that Yugoslavia had reverted to capitalism. What I found particularly hard to understand was that at the meeting it was reaffirmed that the "1948 Cominform resolution on the condition of the Yugoslavian Communist Party was fundamentally correct," except that there were some defects and mistakes in method.

I could hardly accept these arguments at first, so I gave a true account of what was going on in Yugoslavia at the group meeting of the second session of the Eighth National Congress. Kang Sheng and Chen Boda were particularly interested in the matter; they either wrote articles or made reports, cursing "modern revisionism represented by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia," and they were anxious to stir up trouble everywhere.

I had gone back to China to report on my work, without saying good-bye to my colleagues and friends in Yugoslavia, and cast aside even the usual diplomatic protocol. My return symbolized the reversal of Sino-

Yugoslavian relations. Not long after, Yugoslavia also recalled its ambassador. The friendship between our two countries, which had been established not so easily, was completely destroyed. The ideological differences quickly developed and affected the relations between states. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were lowered to the level of charge d'affaires.

Zhou Qiuye and other comrades remained in the embassy. At first they were handicapped by their incomprehension of the situation at home. On the evening of May 9, when Comrade Zhou was attending a reception given by Czechoslovak ambassador in Belgrade, he was snubbed by the Yugoslavian comrades in quite an abnormal manner. This was, indeed, baffling. Later he came to know that on the same day China broadcast an editorial in *Renmin Ribao* which for the first time criticized the League of Communists of Yugoslavia by name. The Yugoslavians learnt the news before the embassy staff did, they naturally were very much dissatisfied with the criticism. For a time, our embassy staff, too, did not know what to do. Even though they were unable to comprehend the matter, they still did as they were required to do by their government at home.

### Past and Future

Although leaders of the LCY strongly objected to what we had done, they still took a relatively restraint attitude even during the period of the deterioration of relations between China and Yugoslavia. On diplomatic occasions, they were still very polite and respectful to us. No obstacles were set for the Chinese who passed through Yugoslavian territory; there was not even any inspection of

luggage. At the UN international forum, they always supported us in our defence of our legal rights and interests.

Tito was farsighted in this respect, and understood what we were trying to do. He said, for example, China was a big country which played a role different from others, and that should be taken into account in solving international problems. Later, it was also he who suggested that Yugoslavia should improve relations with China. Their attitude had its historical origins. They always held that the revolutionary roads of our two countries were very similar, that is, we had followed the same strategy and tactic of guerrilla warfare and of encircling the cities from the countryside.

And our Party's ways of doing things were also similar to those of the Yugoslavian Party, in that neither Party copied the Soviet style. Both countries insisted on equal status with the Soviet Union while developing their own socialist cause. China had much in common with Yugoslavia. Therefore, in spite of the twists and turns or reversals in relations between the two countries, they believed that both countries would be friendly again sooner or later. Later events have proved the validity of their views.

During the 10-year turbulence of the "cultural revolution," I was, of course, unable to escape criticism because of my work in Yugoslavia. I had, it was said, committed "errors" in handling the issue of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Kang Sheng and his like incited the masses who were ignorant of the facts to criticize and denounce me several times. Those engaged in the examination of my "special case" attempted to

prove repeatedly how I had maintained illicit foreign relations and asserted that my "crimes" were "proven and undeniable."

I found it hard to speak in vindication of my conduct. But Kang Sheng and his like had made public, in the form of big-character posters, my accounts on the conditions of Yugoslavia. At first, the Yugoslavian comrades thought I had not provided accurate information; hence China's criticism of the LCY. However, having studied these posters, they clarified the truth of the whole matter. They said that Ambassador Wu Xiuquan had given a true picture of the Yugoslavian condition.

After I had been reinstated in my former office, the Yugoslavian comrades gave me a warm reception whenever I visited their country. When the Yugoslavian delegations came to China, they met me to express their friendly feelings. Tito visited China in 1977, and he gave me a hunting rifle, to show that he still remembered the day we went hunting together in Yugoslavia. All this indicated that they treasured very much the friendship between our two Parties and peoples.

As the first ambassador to Yugoslavia, I was involved in the establishment and development of friendly relations between the two countries, which I have seen now resumed and developed. In June 1982, I went to Yugoslavia twice and attended the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. It was gratifying to see how the Party led their people to advance forward in the spirit of "following and extending Tito's road." I hoped that I would still be able to make contribution to the promotion of friendship between our two Parties and peoples. □

# A Tribute to Ma Haide

by Rewi Alley

**F**IFTY years in medical service to the people of China. Just a few words but conjuring up a wealth of memories! Yet I find it not so easy to write objectively about one who has become almost a part of myself, through all the years he worked in the cities, and amongst the hills and streams of hinterland China. One thinks back to the beginnings, of his work amongst the hell of old-time industrial Shanghai, and then on his epic journey with Edgar Snow to Yanan, then of his marching with the army to Huining in Gansu, to assist the echelon of the next group of Long March fighters to get to Yanan. At that time, he had no knowledge of the language, food was so very different from anything he had ever been accustomed to, and it was very limited. The everlasting loess hills to climb and valleys to cross were, in all, a stern introduction to revolutionary life, well preparing him for much more of the same in the years that were to follow, and all the intense struggles they would include. Meeting up with him in Yanan in 1939 was a highlight for me and, in the following year when I came again, we had some memorable weekend hunts for wild pheasants, and then to his frugal cave to enjoy a stew, sitting by the charcoal brazier, the major comfort that relieved the Spartan simplicity of his then home. Later, back in Chongqing, I received a telegram from him, short and to the point, "Getting married. Send money."

On my first post-liberation visit to Beijing, I found him with Sufei and Youma, their small son, in a room of a com-

pound house and already starting to plan his massive travel scheme to the borderland regions of China to take part in the work of eradicating venereal diseases. From the borderlands of the northwest, right down to the jungle villages in south Hainan he went, despite all the difficulties of travel in those times. In 1953, he came with me to stay for a time at our school in Shandan in west Gansu, and we had time together to tell of events that had happened in the years in between—how he was with Marshal Ye Jianying in Beijing with the Communist delegation that took part in trying to carry through the Marshall mediation plan, which eventually broke down, and how he and his group returned to Yanan; of his struggles to see that China's Liberated Areas Rehabilitation Administration (CLARA), the liberated areas section of UNRRA, got some share of the

help that was being given to China: of the setting up of an institute of dermatology and venereal diseases in Beijing. Then in the years following he became the friend and medical advisor to Anna Louise Strong, who relied heavily on him. I lived in the flat above Anna's, and we had our meals together. Ma Haide and sometimes our friend Dr. Hans Muller joining us once or twice a week. When she went to Conghua in Guangdong, Hainan Island or Beidaihe, she demanded that Ma come with her. So usually it was the three of us. After she passed away, we kept up the tradition of a summer and mid-winter break together, for Ma loves to swim, and with flippers on his feet he glides through the ocean with apparent ease.

The campaign against VD completed. Ma turned to that of eradication of leprosy. So he got around amongst the leper hospitals and leper villages all

Dr. Ma Haide (right) and Comrade Mao Zedong in Yanan in 1945.



over the country, becoming more and more confident that the eradication of the disease in China will be completely possible by the end of this century. In 1982-83 he underwent a series of major operations, from which it seemed not possible for him to recover. Yet it was in these years that he made several trips to the USA in the cause of better Sino-American

relations. A friend, Dr. E. Grey Dimond of Kansas City, USA, wrote a book mainly about him which he called *Inside China Today*, which has been well received. Intensely human, sure of his cause, and never letting it down, he had his own problems from the lunatic fringe in the "cultural revolution," but ever he has kept on doing all that he feels can be done in the strug-

gle for a better China and our world.

Able, human, determined and with a great feeling of responsibility for his work and all he believes in, Ma Haide stands as the embodiment of the idea of ever greater friendship between his homeland of the USA and the China that he has come to fruition in. One of the truly great men of our times. □

## China's Contributions to Leprosy Control

by Ma Haide

**I** BEGAN working in China in the medical field half a century ago. Like all youths, I acquired certain ideas and ideals early. One of these was that given an opportunity and the right conditions, mankind can eliminate many of its scourges.

For 50 years, I have been privileged to participate in such work. In the past two decades I have specialized in the field of leprosy control.

China's nationwide anti-leprosy campaign was inaugurated in the mid-50s, soon after the acute communicable diseases such as smallpox, cholera, plague were eradicated, and endemic diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, schistosomiasis and kala azar were brought under control. Then in the late 50s I joined the anti-leprosy campaign after years of work in fighting venereal diseases which were once prevalent in many areas among minority nationalities.

In 1949 when the People's Republic was founded, the total number of leprosy cases in the whole country was estimated at 500,000. Now the figure has dropped to less than 200,000.

How had this happened?



Ma Haide.

In 1950, the first China National Health Conference laid down a strategy for health work emphasizing nationwide services for the people; prevention; co-ordination of the indigenous traditional doctors and the modern trained ones; and the tactic of melding medical campaigns with mass movements. In our leprosy control work we followed these four guiding principles and integrated our programme into the health system of the country. This was organized vertically from the Ministry of Public Health on down to the provincial, prefecture, county and commune level.

A network was developed, including leprosy stations, leprosaria, hospitals and leprosy villages. The higher endemic areas were first covered. We now have 1,100 such institutions with over 10,000 full-time medical personnel and 86,000 beds. The Institute of Dermatology and Venereal Diseases organized

in 1954 under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences has the responsibility to give nationwide technical and scientific leadership to leprosy work.

In our work, we adhered to the well tried methods of public health education, various mass and spot surveys, isolation of infectious cases, active treatment of all patients, protection of the contacts and organized follow-up. These measures proved quite effective.

For example, Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangsu and Shandong are coastal provinces with



A leprosy patient tells Dr. Ma: "This is my first handshake in 20 years."

a high endemicity of leprosy and a population of 246 million people. From the mid-50s till 1980 a total of 223,000 cases were found and treated. There are some 20,000 still under treatment. The prevalence rate has dropped from less than 1 per thousand to 1.4 per ten thousand.

China is a developing country with a vast territory and a large population. The geography of the country and the density of the population vary greatly in the different areas. The epidemiology of the disease and the efficiency of control are affected by these characteristics.

In Hainan Island in south China, I found that leprosy was prevalent among the Li and Miao minorities as well as the Hans. The same was true of the Zhuang people in nearby coastal Guangxi which our medical teams visited over the past 20 years. In Inner Mon-

golia there were only 34 cases registered after liberation. In the far northern province of Heilongjiang there were only 868 cases found in the last 35 years, of whom 96 per cent were immigrants. In southwest China whose population consists of a multitude of different ethnic groups, mostly in mountainous terrain, leprosy control work is more difficult than in the coastal provinces. The political stability after the fall of the gang of four helped improve medical work. Now good progress is being made in these outer areas.

The endemic areas have been steadily localized and the number of newly infected children and adolescents has decreased. As a result, mass surveys proved to be too expensive both economically and in man power. A recent calculation indicated that approximately 700 yuan was spent to find a new case by the mass survey method. Now

as an alternative the health authorities are rewarding the medical workers at grass-roots units for every new case they discovered on their own. The patient is encouraged to report himself or herself and is also rewarded.

Treatment of all leprosy cases is paid for by the state. In addition, a basic food subsidy is provided for all institutionalized patients. Ambulatory cases are taken care of by the anti-leprosy network or the basic health organizations.

Leprosy has a history of over 2,000 years in China. It was first recorded in the *Nei Jing*, one of the earliest Chinese medical classics of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) in which the symptoms and features of leprosy were described under the name of *da feng*. Records of the symptoms and remedies for leprosy were also found in the medical books and litera-



ture of succeeding dynasties and in various traditional folk tales. Moreover, prescriptions for leprosy treatment were found inscribed on bamboo slips excavated from a tomb of some 2,000 years ago in central China's Hubei Province. Nowadays, a combination therapy is replacing the monotherapy which had been used in the past. Some formulations of Chinese traditional medicines were used in experimental therapy, but none so far were found to be very effective in direct treatment. Investigations with acupuncture for nerve pain and herbal treatments combined with modern medicine are continuing in many leprosy hospitals and leprosaria. Most of the leprosy drugs are produced domestically. Reconstructive surgery of deformities and the prevention and care for ulcers as well as orthopedic surgery, plastic surgery, and the making of prostheses are done in several leprosy hospitals in some provinces.

Isolation of "open cases" was stressed during the 50s and 60s. This was necessary at that time, playing an important part in reducing the sources of infection and guaranteeing regular treatment.

Now with the new combined therapy being effective in "closing" the "open cases" quickly, hospitalization or isolation of leprosy patients is no longer needed. Treatment in the out patient clinics is preferable.

While health authorities think it unnecessary to set up leprosy villages, it often happens that neighbours of a leprosy patient demand isolation measures.

Nowadays diagnosis and treatment are no problem. What is essential is how to cope with social ostracism and help the

public change their unscientific attitude towards leprosy.

Medical records show that 85 per cent of leprosy cases do not transmit the disease to others. None of our medical personnel engaged in the anti-leprosy programme had contracted leprosy during the past several decades. The transmission rate between husband and wife is as low as 3-5 per cent. This shows that leprosy is not highly contagious.

To protect the mental health of leprosy patients, arrangements are made to have them take part in handicrafts but not farm work, as heavy physical labour is detrimental to them. Small factories are being set up for rehabilitation.

Last year, Chinese anti-leprosy medical personnel attended a World Health Organization sponsored workshop on leprosy control in Kuala Lumpur and two workshops in China.

After 30 years of struggle we have achieved some satisfactory results. Our campaigns with treatment and care resulted in 300,000 cases "cured." But the task that faces us in the future is still very great. The problem of relapse has to be handled seriously. With the easily discovered cases found already, the hard-core problem of finding the very few cases, e.g. less than one in a hundred thousand population still remains. Much work is needed in research. We are concentrating our efforts on epidemiology, early diagnosis, and development of treatment by combining Chinese and Western medicine.

As an advisor to the Ministry of Public Health, I announced on behalf of the Chinese Government in November 1981 that leprosy in China could be eradicated by the year 2000. This

goal is attainable because of the country's socialist system, experienced medical staff and numerous institutions for leprosy control. With the help of potent drugs, 99 per cent of the leprosy bacilli are killed after a week-long chemotherapy treatment.

In 1982, I was honoured with the annual award by the Damien-Dutton Leprosy Society in the United States. With the support of the Belgium Damien Foundation and the Canadian Leprosy Fund, together with two other Chinese leprologists I made a leprosy study tour of Japan, Hawaii and other places in the United States, Canada, England, Belgium, Switzerland, India and Thailand. After returning to China, we made recommendations to the health authorities that rehabilitation centres rather than new leprosy hospitals should be established in endemic provinces such as Guangdong and Jiangsu.

We have since worked on the publication of a leprosy journal which will contribute to better understanding of the disease. Preparations are under way to set up a Chinese Leprosy Association which will help improve anti-leprosy work and promote academic exchanges with other countries.

In 1984 China will send an 11-member delegation to the 12th International Leprosy Congress to be held in India. This will help enhance the scientific exchange between Chinese and world specialists in this field.

We are determined to continue our work in fighting against leprosy and strive to contribute more in doing away with that scourge of mankind affecting between 12 to 15 million victims throughout the world. □

### OPINION

## Looking at competition between individuals

**L**IN Yuan, in an article in *Jianghai Journal*, issue No. 4, writes that class struggle is undoubtedly the direct motive force of history in a class society. But undeniably co-operation and competition taken place between individuals under given conditions also are driving forces

For a long time, however, we have recognized only class struggle and co-operation. We have completely ignored the force of competition. This approach has proved detrimental to the socialist cause. By denying the force of competition, and by exaggerating instead the importance of class struggle, we regarded the normal phenomenon of competition between individuals as being class struggle. Those who excelled in their studies and work or those who made a fortune through their labour were criticized as capitalist roaders or capitalist experts wanting to make a name for themselves. This was one reason why class struggle was magnified. At the same time, we denied that competition existed under socialist conditions and we unrealistically exaggerated co-operation. This provided the theoretical basis for the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely and for the egalitarian practice of "eating from the same big rice pot," and thus hindered the development of productive forces.

Therefore, how to look at the competition between individuals

under socialist conditions and the effect of competition on socialist construction is an important theoretical and practical question concerning the four modernizations. It must be discussed earnestly.

— *Jianghai Journal*,  
issue No. 4

## Surplus labour force

**A** SIGNED article in *Future & Development* issue No. 4 1982, said that surplus labour in the rural areas is becoming more serious than before. In the next 20 years 300 million new workers will join the rural work force. The labour force in the countryside will grow by 10 to 20 million annually, not counting those who enter the cities for employment. With the development of agricultural

mechanization, the rural surplus labour force will rise to 100 million by 1990

In order to solve the surplus labour problem, rural population growth must be strictly controlled. Agricultural policy should be revised to develop forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries and other sideline occupations and also to integrate agricultural production with product processing, storing, transporting, selling and the supply of the means of production. In addition to absorbing more of the labour force into agriculture and related positions, we should develop in the rural areas industry, mining, energy resources, communications and trades, commerce, foreign trade and tourism; we should set up farms and sideline occupation bases in the suburbs so that we can have a rational distribution of labour. We must also work hard to build small cities and towns so that the surplus labour force from the countryside will have both suitable employment and living conditions.

— "Weilai Yu Fazhan"  
(*Future & Development*)

### LIFE

## Investment for training personnel

**C**HANGPING County, in the Beijing suburbs, recently signed contracts with Beijing Agricultural University, Beijing Agricultural College, Beijing Aeronautical Engineering Institute and Beijing Building Engineering College, asking them to train 200 personnel in

special fields over the next two years.

The county will pay the university and colleges all the necessary fees to train the students, according to the standards for university students stipulated by the state. The university and colleges

are responsible for the students' education and testing. The students will go back to the county after finishing their courses. They were enrolled according to their grades in the entrance examinations given by the university and colleges.

The county will subsidize these students for their livelihood, books and health care during their study period, to allow them to concentrate on their studies.

— "Zhongguo Qingnian Bao"  
(China Youth News)

## Village student studies abroad

**F**OR three generations the Chen family in a remote corner of Fujian Province had been illiterate. Today all five children have progressed from Shangbaishi Commune in Fuan County to college or further.

The eldest child, a daughter. (the rest are sons), has just graduated from the Chinese language and literature department at Fujian Teachers' University. The second child is studying at a military college, the third is a graduate of the teachers' school in Ningde Prefecture, and the fourth is at the Fujian Agricultural College.

The youngest son, Chen Changhua, who originally passed the 1978 entrance exams and studied radio electronics at Qinghua University, is now enrolled at the University of Utah in the United States.

Chen was not strong in English when he was studying

in rural junior and senior middle schools. But after he was admitted to Qinghua University, he persisted in listening to the English courses on the air and his English eventually became the best in his class.

Last year, he took part in the US-China joint examinations on physics. He answered all the questions put forward by the foreign scholar despite the questions not being about physics but about rural crops, habits and customs. The professor was extremely pleased with Chen's fluent English. Universities in New York and Utah soon notified Chen that he was a strong candidate and Chen, considering his specialization, chose the physics major in Utah. He is set on studying hard to get his doctorate, thereby repaying the Party and the people for their cultivation.

— *Fujian Ribao* (Fujian Daily)

past, the generally accepted view was that it originated from the deserts of Inner Mongolia and other northwestern regions or from the loess plateau. But in the Beijing area itself the dust coming from the above deserts makes up only 13 per cent of the particle matter carried by the spring duststorms in Beijing while 87 per cent comes from Beijing itself.

Before liberation less than 500 hectares in Beijing were green and there were about 64,000 trees, so the spring duststorms were especially severe. By the early 1960s, some 2,500 hectares were green and there were 13 million trees. Thus from 1961 to 1970 spring duststorms were noticeably less severe. During the "cultural revolution," however, the green area was reduced by 11 per cent, and the number of trees fell by more than 40 per cent. During the past 10 years spring duststorms in Beijing have averaged four per month, about one every week.

At present about 22 per cent of Beijing has vegetation cover. If the green area can be doubled, the duststorms can be virtually eliminated.

— "Huanjing Baohu" (Environmental Protection)

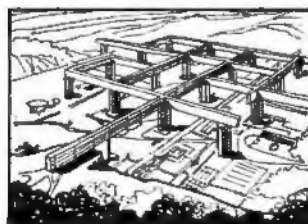
## Wind and sand in Beijing

**O**N an average Beijing has 33 days a year of strong wind and sandstorms, nearly one every 11 days, according to statistics from 1951 to 1980.

In Beijing, pollutants carried by the duststorms make up one-third of the total volume of

dust, three times higher than the world average. Therefore, the contamination caused by duststorms in Beijing area must not be neglected.

The source of the dust and pollutants has been a subject of controversy for years. In the



## ETHNOLOGY

*History of China's  
Huis*

At China's first seminar on the history of the Hui nationality last October most scholars disagreed with the widely held opinion that the Huis were descended mainly from the Arabs. They believe the Huis developed from a variety of peoples.

Some scholars held that the ancestors of the Huis could be traced back to the end of the 7th century, when Persian and Arab merchants came to China and intermingled with the local people. But most Huis descended from Persians, Arabs and other nationalities of central Asia in the west of the Cong Ridges, who moved eastward during the 13th century, and intermarried with the Hans, Uygurs and Mongolians. (Cong Ridges is an ancient name for the Pamirs, and other mountain ranges west of the Kunlun and Karakorum Mountains, mainly Hindu Kush in Afghanistan.) Others said that the ancestors of the Huis included the descendants of the Huihe, who were converted to Islam in the mid-10th century and lived in Kashgar, an area east of the Cong Ridges. A few participants at the seminar held that the Huis had Malay and Philippine ancestors.

The Hui nationality, with a population of 7.21 million, is the third largest in China, after the Han and Zhuang. They live throughout the country, but are concentrated in Ningxia on the upper reaches of the Huanghe (Yellow) River. Accordingly,

after liberation Ningxia was established as a Hui Autonomous Region. Two other Hui autonomous prefectures and six autonomous counties are scattered around the country. The Huis also share three autonomous counties with people of the Yi and Miao nationalities.

Studies of the Hui people, who have been greatly influenced by Islam, have been popular among scholars recently. More than 20 works on their history, literature, religion and customs have been published, including *An Outline History of the Hui Nationality* and *Selected Literary Works of China's Hui Nationality*.

## OPERA

*The tragedy  
of a scholar*

Showing off the humorous style of the Sichuan opera to its best advantage, *Bashan Scholar* has become a success for its effective depiction of a tragic subject in comedy.

It is based on a true story which took place about 100 years ago, when the Bashan area in Sichuan Province suffered a serious drought. The county magistrate appropriated all the relief grain and then falsely charged the local people with rebellion. As a result, thousands of hungry people were barbarously killed. As a witness to the slaughter, an old scholar determined to appeal to higher authorities and redress the wrong done to these innocent people. But after all his efforts, he himself was killed.

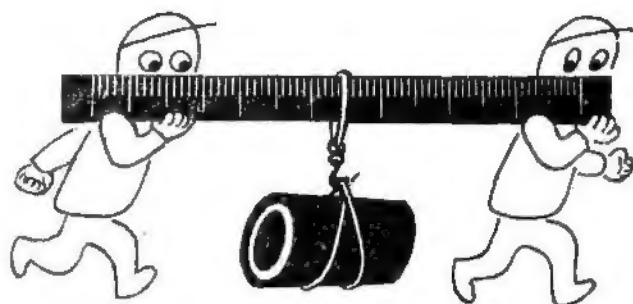
Although the story was quite tragic, in the opera the scholar's bookishness results in many funny episodes during the process of his appeal, adding humour and interest to the misfortune.

After many twists and setbacks, finally the scholar seizes the opportunity of the nationwide official-enrolment examination. He writes an appeal on his exam paper to inform the court about the massacre, and they send an imperial envoy to investigate the case. Delighted at the thought that the wrong will be redressed, the scholar drinks some wine given to him by a court official, never suspecting that it is actually poisoned. The court and the local officials have been supporting each other in oppressing the people, and naturally, none of them would be happy to have their crimes exposed.

"The opera has handled the striking contradiction between life and death comically. This is the Sichuan style I appreciate and understand," said Wang Chaowen, a noted critic.

With a history of more than 200 years, Sichuan opera has about 1,800 works in its repertoire. It is sung in Sichuan dialect and is quite popular in its home province and other southwestern provinces.

Efforts have been made in recent years in Sichuan Province to rejuvenate this old art. Operas on both historical and contemporary themes are encouraged. There are now 130 opera troupes with 17,000 professional artists in Sichuan. *Bashan Scholar* was considered one of the best performances during the festival held this spring in Chengdu, the provincial capital.



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